

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 BERLIN 05693 01 OF 03 311501Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12  
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R 311436Z AUG 78  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8104  
USICA WASHDC  
INFO AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
USMISSION USBERLIN  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BERLIN 05693

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PGOV, PEPR, US, GE, GW  
SUBJECT: HEYM ON GDR RESTRICTIONS

REFS: (A) BERLIN 5516, (B) A-38

1. DISSIDENT WRITER STEFAN HEYM INVITED PAO TO  
LUNCH AUGUST 28 EXPLAINING ON PHONE HE WISHED DISCUSS  
LITERARY MATTERS, WHICH IN FACT TURNED OUT TO BE  
EXPRESSIONS OF PERSONAL CONCERN ABOUT HIS SAFETY IN THE  
NEAR FUTURE AND ANXIETY OVER WHAT HE CONSIDERS TO BE A  
GENERAL TREND IN THE GDR TOWARDS STRICTER CONTROLS WITH  
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PAGE 02 BERLIN 05693 01 OF 03 311501Z

THE CONCOMITANT REVERSAL OF THE MORE LIBERAL POLICIES OF  
SED CHAIRMAN HONECKER.

2. HEYM'S POINT OF DEPARTURE WAS THE RECENT INCIDENT  
INVOLVING THE REFUSAL OF THE MFA TO ALLOW ARD CORRESPONDENT  
LUTZ LEHMANN TO FILM AN INTERVIEW WITH HEYM AND OTHER DIS-  
SIDENT WRITERS (REFTEL A). HE SAID HOWEVER THAT THE FILM

OBJECTED TO BY THE MFA WAS NOT WHAT WAS PLANNED BY ARD ON AUGUST 22 BUT FOOTAGE WHICH HAD BEEN TAKEN THE PREVIOUS DAY BY ARD BUREAU CHIEF PLEITGEN. THAT FILM SHOWED A NUMBER OF STATE SECURITY PLAINCLOTHESMEN IN FRONT OF HEYM'S HOUSE IN SUBURBAN GRUNAU TRYING TO HIDE THEIR FACES FROM THE CAMERA, AND WITH HEYM STANDING IN THE GARDEN WATCHING THE UNUSUAL SCENE. ARD RETAINED THE FILM BUT TO DATE HAS NOT SHOWN IT. OBVIOUSLY, HEYM SAID, THE STATE SECURITY GUARDS REPORTED THE INCIDENT WHICH LED TO THE MFA PROTEST, FIRST TO LEHMANN AND THEN TO FRG PERMREP GAUS.

3. HEYM DESCRIBED THE EXACT NATURE OF THE UNMADE FILM WHICH HAD HIM AS THE CENTERPIECE. ARD WISHED TO INTRODUCE THE FRG PUBLIC TO SOME OF THE WRITERS WHOM HEYM HAD INCLUDED IN HIS JUST-APPEARED ANTHOLOGY "AUSKUNFT-2" AND HAD ARRANGED WITH HEYM FOR THE INITIAL INTERVIEW TO BE WITH HIM. HEYM SAID THE FILM WAS TO BE FORTY-FIVE MINUTES IN LENGTH AND TO CONTAIN INTERVIEWS OF ABOUT FIVE OR SIX MINUTES IN LENGTH WITH FIVE OTHER WRITERS, ALL OF WHOM HAD BEEN CONTACTED BY HEYM BY PHONE AND ALERTED TO THE FILMING WHICH WOULD TAKE PLACE IN EACH OF THE WRITERS' HOMES. HEYM LISTED THE WRITERS, MENTIONED IN REFTTEL A, TO WHICH HE ADDED ERICH LOEST AND KATYA LANGE, WHO IS THE DAUGHTER OF CANDIDATE-POLITBURO MEMBER INGE LANGE. HEYM SAID ALL WERE SIGNERS OF CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BERLIN 05693 01 OF 03 311501Z

THE BIERMANN PETITION AND ALL WERE NOT INVITED TO THE WRITERS CONGRESS IN MAY. AT THE LAST MOMENT LANGE COULD NOT MAKE IT AND HELGA SCHUETZ WAS CONTACTED.

4. ASKED IF HE THOUGHT THE ORIGINAL INCLUSION OF LANGE MIGHT HAVE TRIGGERED THE ENTIRE AFFAIR, HEYM SAID IT MIGHT HAVE HAD A COROLLARY EFFECT BUT THAT HE ATTRIBUTED THE ENTIRE INCIDENT TO DEEPER CAUSES. HE ADDED THAT ON THE FOLLOWING DAY HE SENT A LETTER TO DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER NIER, WITH COPIES TO HONECKER AND TO KLAUS HOEPKE, DEPUTY MINISTER OF CULTURE (FOR LITERATURE), AS WELL AS TO GAUS AND TO ARD, GIVING HIS VERSION OF EVENTS.

5. HEYM EXPRESSED IMPATIENCE AND ANGER WITH YET ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE INCIDENT. IN THE SAME WEEK, HE AND HIS WIFE NOTICED ON ONE DAY THE SUDDEN APPEARANCE OF A CARAVAN OF SECURITY CARS RACING UP AND DOWN HIS STREET, FOLLOWED BY A CAR WHICH THEN PARKED IN FRONT OF HIS HOUSE AND FROM WHICH EMERGED DISSIDENT SCIENTIST ROBERT HAVEMANN. HEYM SAID HE HAD NOT SEEN HAVEMANN FOR FIVE YEARS, AND DESCRIBED HAVEMANN AS SENILE

AND NOT IN CONTROL OF HIS FACULTIES. "THAT WAS THE LAST MAN I WANTED TO SEE," HE COMPLAINED, ADDING THAT HE HAD ENOUGH TROUBLES WITHOUT SEEMING TO BE IN COLLUSION WITH HAVEMANN. HAVEMANN APPARENTLY HAD COME TO CONGRATULATE HEYM ON HIS RESISTANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT. "HOW WILL THAT LOOK TO THE AUTHORITIES, I WONDER," HE SAID.

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PAGE 01 BERLIN 05693 02 OF 03 311511Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BERLIN 05693

6. THE "DEEPER CAUSES" WHICH SEEM TO BE OF CONCERN TO HEYM HE IDENTIFIED AS A "TIGHTENING UP" IN GDR SOCIETY AIMED DIRECTLY AT HONECKER "WHO OPENED THINGS UP FOR ALL OF US." HE MENTIONED PAUL VERNER SEVERAL TIMES AND SCORNEO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO AS REPRESENTING UNINFLUENTIAL GROUPS WITH NO POWER BASE. HEYM REFERRED TO THE RECENT CONVICTION OF RUDOLPH BAHRO AS A "BLOW AGAINST THE LIBERALS FROM WHICH WE HAVE NOT RECOVERED." HE SAID A MORE PERSONAL

BLOW OCCURRED TEN DAYS AGO WHEN HIS PUBLISHER OF TEN YEARS, HENNINGER, WAS INFORMED ON RETURNING FROM VACATION THAT HE WAS BEING DISMISSED AS CHIEF OF "DER  
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PAGE 02 BERLIN 05693 02 OF 03 311511Z

MORGEN" PUBLISHING HOUSE AND TRANSFERRED TO THE DAILY NEWSPAPER OF THE SAME NAME AS ASSISTANT CULTURAL EDITOR. "HOW CAN THEY DO THAT TO SUCH A FINE MAN WHO NEVER HURT ANYONE," HEYM COMPLAINED, "AND SENT TO A JOB THAT IS ALMOST USELESS." (FYI - PAO HAD BEEN IN TOUCH WITH HENNINGER EARLIER THIS YEAR AT THE REQUEST OF HEYM IN ORDER TO SEND HIM PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE NORMANDY INVASION, COURTESY ICA BONN, IN PREPARATION FOR THE REISSUE OF HEYM'S AMERICAN BEST-SELLER "THE CRUSADERS.") HEYM SAID HE HAS ALSO BEEN INFORMED THAT HIS WELL-KNOWN CRITIQUE OF THE GDR, "THE KING DAVID REPORT," WHICH WAS SLATED FOR A NEW EDITION NEXT YEAR WILL NOT BE PUBLISHED.

7. HEYM THEN EXPRESSED ANXIETY OVER HIS OWN PERSONAL SAFETY. "I'VE BEEN IN TROUBLE BEFORE BUT THIS TIME I'M SURE THEY WANT ME OUT OF THE WAY," HE SAID, DESCRIBING SOME OF HIS DIFFICULTIES IN 1963 WHEN HE WAS CRITICIZED AT THE ELEVENTH PARTY PLENUM AND THE SUBJECT OF A FULL-PAGE ATTACK IN THE PRESS. HE SAID HE HOPED THE PAO WOULD HELP IF NECESSARY AND LOOK AFTER HIS WIFE AND SON. "I DO NOT RELISH ROTTING IN A GDR CELL," HE SAID.

8. MEANWHILE, HE IS PLANNING A MONTH'S VACATION IN GREECE BEGINNING SEPTEMBER 3, FOR WHICH HE STILL DOES NOT HAVE APPROVAL, AND HAS RECEIVED AN INVITATION FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH BEGINNING OCTOBER 15 FOR A LECTURE SERIES. HE PROMISED TO REMAIN IN CLOSE CONTACT AND ADVISE ON THE PROGRESS OF BOTH TRIPS.

9. NORMALLY A CHEERFUL IF SARDONIC INDIVIDUAL, HEYM ON THIS OCCASION REFLECTED INNER TROUBLE, THE GRAVITY OF  
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PAGE 03 BERLIN 05693 02 OF 03 311511Z

WHICH ONLY HIS PERSONAL IMMEDIATE FORTUNES CAN CONFIRM. HE REFERRED SEVERAL TIMES TO SURVEILLANCE OF HIS HOME, IN THE RECENT PERIOD OVERT AND OBVIOUS, AND DISPLAYED HIS DISTRUST OF THE AUTHORITIES AT THE OUTSET WHEN, UPON MEETING THE PAO OUTSIDE THE PREARRANGED RESTAURANT AND BOTH DISCOVERING IT WAS CLOSED, HEYM EXPRESSED SATIS-

FACTION BECAUSE "THE TABLE FOR US WOULD HAVE BEEN BUGGED" AND LED THE WAY TO A QUIET PLACE NEARBY. OTHER INDICATIONS OF HIS MORBID VIEW OF THE CURRENT SCENE, ESPECIALLY IN CONNECTION WITH THE BAHRO ARREST, WAS HIS REFERENCE TO THE GDR LAW UNDER WHICH BAHRO WAS ARRESTED AND CONVICTED (REFAIR) AS BEING "IN THE SAME SPIRIT OF MCCARTHYISM WHICH FORCED ME TO LEAVE THE UNITED STATES 25 YEARS AGO." WHEN THE PAO SAID HE HAD PURPOSELY NOT BEEN IN CONTACT WITH OTHER DISSIDENT WRITERS, HEYM SAID THAT WAS WISE SINCE ALL LEADING DISSIDENTS WERE UNDER CLOSE OBSERVATION AND ALL PHONES MONITORED. HE COMMENTED THAT THE "HYSTERIA" OF THE MFA CONCERNING THE ARD REPORTAGE WAS CLEARLY TRACE-ABLE TO THE FALSE BELIEF THAT HE, HEYM, WAS ORGANIZING SOME KIND OF ANTI-REGIME CULTURAL MANIFESTATION WHEN IN FACT HE WISHED ONLY TO DEMONSTRATE THE EVER-EMERGING NEW LITERARY TALENT IN THE GDR, AS EVIDENCED IN HIS NEW VOLUME. UPON MENTION OF HERMANN KANT, NEWLY-ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE WRITERS UNION, HEYM SNORTED IN DISGUST AND SAID KANT WAS DESPISED BY ALL DECENT WRITERS BECAUSE OF HIS TOADYING TO THE REGIME, AND A MAN NOT TO BE TRUSTED.

10. AS A FINAL COMMENTARY ON HIS INTERPRETATION OF A POSSIBLE POWER STRUGGLE IN THE REGIME, HEYM ADVANCED AN OPINION CONCERNING THE ACCURACY OF INFORMATION IN "DER

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PAGE 01 BERLIN 05693 03 OF 03 311516Z  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BERLIN 05693

SPIEGEL." TOLD ABOUT "SPIEGEL'S" RECENT STORY THAT BREZHNEV HAD WARNED HONECKER ABOUT THE DANGERS OF "INTERSHOP SOCIALISM" AND THAT ONE MIGHT QUESTION HOW SUCH AN EXCLUSIVE CONVERSATION WOULD BE KNOWN TO "SPIEGEL," HEYM REACTED IMMEDIATELY BY SAYING THAT THE "RIGHT-WING OF THE POLITBURO AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE" HAD A DIRECT LINE TO "SPIEGEL" AND USED THE WEEKLY MAGAZINE AS AN INSTRUMENT TO UNDERMINE HONECKER AND HIS POLICIES.

11. COMMENT: THE FOREGOING OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING TRENDS IN THE GDR ARE EXCLUSIVELY HEYM'S OWN AND THE EMBASSY CANNOT TO ANY SUBSTANTIAL DEGREE VERIFY THEM. IN FACT, CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BERLIN 05693 03 OF 03 311516Z

OTHER CONVERSATIONS WITH MEDIA AND CULTURAL CONTACTS IN RECENT WEEKS, WHILE NOT REFLECTING FORWARD MOVEMENT TOWARDS LIBERALIZATION DO NOT AT THE SAME TIME CONFIRM WHAT HEYM CONSTRUES AS A MAJOR CRACKDOWN ON INTELLECTUALS AND A POWER STRUGGLE IN THE UPPER ECHELONS OF THE REGIME. WHAT DOES APPEAR LIKELY FROM THE EVIDENCE SUPPLIED BY HEYM IS THAT HE HIMSELF MAY BE THE TARGET OF SECURITY FORCES, WHICH HE INTERPRETS IN A BROADER SENSE AS BEING DIRECTED AGAINST ALL DISSIDENTS, OF WHOM HE SEES HIMSELF AS LEADER AND SPOKESMAN. THE REMAINDER OF HIS ANALYSIS ON THE BROADER PICTURE IS HIGHLY CONJECTURAL AND UNTIL CONFIRMED MUST REMAIN THE SPECULATIONS OF A PROMINENT CULTURAL FIGURE DOWN ON HIS LUCK. BOLEN

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## Message Attributes

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